its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
122 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

121 realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings
114 of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship
[538] system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with
[29] ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter II

THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*601 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [846] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [553] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
[571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority